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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER--EXTRA.

WASHINGTON: TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1832.

"A wit 's a feather, and a chief a rod ;
"An honest man's the noblest work of God."

If this sentiment ever had application, surely it is to the exposition which will be found in the following pages, from a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio, addressed to his constituents.

Mr. Russell, the writer of that exposition, is, if ever such a thing was, an honest politician. No zealot he—no hunter after spoils. The records of Congress may be searched, in vain, for the whole period of which we have had any knowledge of those who have served in either House, in quest of a man more entitled to the confidence of his constituents, or of the public, than this gentleman, for all the qualities which belong to the character of an upright, intelligent, and independent yeoman.

We have read, with admiration and respect, many of the disquisitions on public affairs, which have of late been presented to the public from a thousand able pens ; but we have read none which carried home with it such complete conviction as this round unvarnished tale.

Mr. Russell was, as he states, a Jackson man, and so remained, until satisfied, by evidence irresistible, that he had been imposed upon by a false estimate, as well of the morals of the party as of the character of the Chief, whom he has found indeed to be "a rod," with which, in its dearest interests, the nation hath been chastised. He has now had the firmness to declare to the people, before whom he is a candidate for re-election, the change which his sentiments have undergone, and the why and the wherefore of the change. He deserves, for this act of independence and moral courage, a statue of gold from his countrymen. He deserves it the more, because we are satisfied, from a knowledge of the man, that he has, in this act of his, sought for no reward but the approbation of his own conscience.

Mr. Russell's Address.

FROM THE SCIOTO (OHIO) GAZETTE, EXTRA.

The Address which we publish below, is from the pen of the Hon. William Russell, who represents an adjoining district in Congress. Like its plain and honest author, it is a candid straightforward, and undisguised exposition of the state of the country, under the abominable misrule of Gen. Jackson, and the unprincipled cabal with which he is surrounded, and who alone share his confidence, and by whom he is exclusively counselled. Mr. Russell commenced his public career in Congress as a Jacksonian, as he frankly acknowledges, and supported Jackson and his measures until he found that to follow him further must result in the total abandonment of his political principles. We ask the *few* adhering friends of the Hero in this quarter, to read this address in the spirit of candor in which it is written, and make up their judgment accordingly ; and if it should not convince them of the propriety of deserting a sinking cause, it will, at least, induce them to review the measures of an administration which is distinguished for nothing so much, as for its grasping usurpation and its rapid strides towards absolute monarchy. Although this paper is addressed to the people of a particular portion of our State, it may be profitably read by others throughout our widely extended country.

To the Electors of the 5th Congressional District.

In 1824 and 1828, I zealously supported the claims of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency of the United States. In this I honestly believed I was laboring to promote the best interests of the country ; especially of the West. The opinions of Gen. Jackson, as expressed in his letters to Mr. Monroe, and votes in the Senate of the United States, met my approbation. After his election to the Presidency, I resolved to yield him my most cordial support, to carry into effect those measures of reform, which the people had been led to believe necessary for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of the country. But, alas ! what a change has three years produced ! Every opinion and principle which the General so long and frequently proclaimed, he has abandoned. Every vote which he gave as Senator, he has vetoed by his own acts. And as respects the reform, so long and so loudly promised, who has been benefitted ? In what instance have the honor and the interest of the country been promoted by it ? What useless office has been abolished ? What salary reduced ? What has been done with the supernumerary and useless clerks, which the committee of retrenchment found in the different offices at Washington ? I appeal to your judgments, has there been a single promise fulfilled ? No : the whole has evaporated into empty air ; and we may discover that *those professions were the work of designing demagogues, to deceive an honest, confiding people.* Having, as before stat-

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ed, taken an active part in the elevation of Gen. Jackson, I felt an ardent desire for the honor of his administration. But after the most deliberate and careful scrutiny into his acts, I am reluctantly but irresistibly forced to the conclusion, that I must either abandon my principles or abandon Gen. Jackson. And although I feel the full influence which the pride of opinion has upon the human mind, yet when such an alternative is presented, I cannot for a moment hesitate in the choice which duty to my country requires at my hands. Duty to myself, as well as a due respect for many of my friends whom I highly esteem, but who may differ from me in opinion, induces me to assign the reasons which have determined me not to pursue the devious paths of improved Jacksonism.

It has long been my decided opinion, that the service of the President of the United States ought to be limited to a single term of four or six years. In this opinion I have been amply sustained by the repeated declarations of General Jackson, as well as by that of the whole Jackson party; a party whose asseveration was, that, should the General be elected, he would set the example, and serve only for a single term. President Jackson, in his first message to Congress, makes use of the following language:

"It would seem advisable to limit the services of the Chief Magistrate to a single term of four or six years."

In his second message, he again urges the propriety of placing restrictions upon the re-eligibility of the President. In connexion with the foregoing amendment to the constitution, Gen. Jackson urged another, which he and his friends considered to be of great importance. In his address to the Legislature of Tennessee, he says:

"With a view to sustain more effectually in practice the axiom which divides the three great classes of power into independent constitutional checks, I would impose a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under the General Government, during the term for which he was elected, and for two years thereafter, except in cases of judicial office."

If these amendments are made, he goes on to show—

"That members, instead of being withdrawn from legislating on the great interests of the nation, through prospects of Executive patronage, would be more liberally confided in by their constituents; while their vigilance would be less interrupted by party feelings and party excitements, calculations from intrigue or management would fail," &c,

Again, he says—

"But if this change in the constitution should not be obtained, and important appointments continue to devolve upon the representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced, that corruption will become the order of the day."

In conclusion, he remarks—

"That it is due to myself to practise upon the maxims recommended to others, and hence feel constrained to retire from a situation where temptations may exist and suspicions arise, of the exercise of an influence tending to my own aggrandizement."

After reading the above beautiful theory from the pen of Andrew Jackson, I confess it was with deep regret that I witnessed the practical comment made upon it by President Jackson, who has appointed more members of Congress to office than any of his predecessors, his full belief in its corrupting influence to the contrary notwithstanding. Call you this practising upon the doctrine you preach to others?

On the subject of the re-eligibility of the President he has been equally inconsistent. Before all the people of the United States had read his message of December, 1830, we find him franking a letter written by his private Secretary, to a distinguished Senator of the State of Pennsylvania, to obtain a nomination from the Legislature of that State. Is this his practice upon his own maxim, that he would neither seek nor avoid office?

That part of the second message which relates to the re-eligibility of the President was referred to a committee of seven gentlemen, (Mr. M'Duffie, chairman,) six of whom were, I believe, the political friends of the President. This committee reported an amendment to the Constitution, in accordance with the expressed views of the President. But some unseen power prevented its being acted upon; and the official paper abused Mr. M'Duffie, (as an enemy to the President,) for introducing a measure that would prevent him from serving a second term.

The Jackson party complained loudly, (and perhaps justly,) that officers under the Government of the United States prostituted their official influence in order to operate upon State elections. So strongly had the impropriety of this course been impressed upon the public mind, that General Jackson takes special notice of it in his inaugural address, as follows:

"The recent demonstrations of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform, abuses which have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the right ful course of appointments, and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands."

Now what has been the practice under the above precept. Let the following circular from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, speak:

"Sir:—I send you the second number of the Extra Globe. It is one dollar for thirty numbers. As it is of the greatest importance in the approaching contest for the Presidency, that this paper should be circulated and read in every neighborhood in Ohio, can you procure five or ten subscribers to it in your vicinity? If you can, and do, you may transmit the money to me, and I will see the papers forwarded to such persons and post offices as you shall direct. The back numbers will be sent."

Compare attentively the two following letters from Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor:

March 24th, 1829.

"The interest of the country demands that the 4th Auditor's office shall be filled with men of business, and not with babbling politicians. Partisan feelings shall not enter here, if I can keep them out. To others belong the

whole business of electioneering. To me and my clerks other duties are assigned. Them I shall endeavor to discharge in the spirit of reform, which has made Gen. Jackson President. Vain I may be, proud I am, that the President has given me an opportunity to aid him in proving that reform is not an empty sound, and is not to apply merely to a change of men. Henceforth, assiduously devoted to my official duties, I shall leave my enemies and his, to their freedom of speech and the press, resting my claims to public confidence on my acts.

"Very respectfully, your friend, &c.

"AMOS KENDALL.

"To I. Munroe."

SECOND LETTER.

Washington, April 28, 1832.

"Dear Sir:—I take the liberty to enclose you certain proposals which speak for themselves. The people need only correct information, and the proposed paper will give it on the cheapest terms. It is intended to reach every neighborhood in the Union, and it is peculiarly desirable that it should be circulated through all Kentucky. It will render essential service in all your elections. Will you take the trouble, for the sake of our good cause, to raise a subscription in your quarter, and make a speedy return of names and money. The time for action is at hand.

"The President is well, and in excellent spirits. I do not doubt that the people, whom he has so honestly served, will triumphantly sustain him.

"With great respect, yours truly,

"AMOS KENDALL."

Notice, reader, the expression in the above letter, 'for the sake of our good cause.' What cause? Not the cause of the people, or of the country, but, in plain English, *the cause of the Office Holders.*

Look, fellow citizens, at the quantity of electioneering matter furnished by public officers at Washington, and distributed free of postage under their frank. If the correction of abuses which brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections has taken place, what means the last letter of A. Kendall? And what does it mean that so many Post Masters and other Federal officers are appointed members of electioneering committees? For what purpose do certain presses furnish so many veto messages and papers free of cost? For what purpose did a certain Federal officer from Kentucky, who has a salary of about $1900, come into Ohio and make stump speeches in favor of the administration, and thereby come in conflict with the freedom of our elections? Believe me, fellow citizens, when I tell you, that all this was in accordance with a combined movement of the office holders to retain their places. Let me now ask, has the hand of reform found them out, and have they been indignantly hurled from office as unfaithful or incompetent men?

On the day of Gen. Jackson's inauguration, one of his devoted followers in Ohio, exclaimed in the following language:

"In the administration of the present Chief Magistrate, we look for a reform in the subordinate offices in the executive Departments, viz: Departments of State, of War, Treasury, and Navy. The business of their stations must take the place of electioneering travelling. There will be fewer Ministers Plenipotentiaries made, and fewer changes of Ministers as an excuse for outfits, and no infits or constructive journies paid; no Indian missions made for and justified as a compliment to a favorite pet for alleged faithfulness, with 7,000 dollars of the nation's money in six months, as has been in the expiring administration of the coalition. We fondly anticipate a saving of some 20,000 or 30,000 dollars in the contingencies of each or most of the cabinet departments, and of some 1000 or 2000 in the contingencies of the Auditors of public accounts. President Jackson has no occasion for patronage to make him popular, as he does not desire a re-election, or if he does, can have it without effort on his part—there will be no occasion for electioneering contingent money to be placed at the command of these officers. All these improvements, and many more, we have good reason to expect, as they constituted a part of the object of the suffrages of the people in designating Andrew Jackson to the office of their Chief Magistrate."

You will ask, have these hopes been fulfilled? I answer, No!* Has the number of Ministers been reduced? No! An increase was asked or! Well, then, say you, there have not been so many changes of ministers. I believe there have been more changes. Well, boast you that we have had no

* In 1828, the last year of the late Administration, the receipts from the customs amounted to $23,205,523

The average annual receipts from the same source in the years 1829, '30, and '31, are 23,101,794

Difference, 103,729

Although this comparison shows rather a decrease of revenue, yet for its collection there has been a great increase of officers. In March, 1829, the number of Custom House officers was 1167. There are at this time 1509 —Increase in three years 342. Reader, call you this retrenchment and reform?

Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

In 1829,	$534,829 58
1830,	543,234 90
1831,	559,330 83
	$1,637,395 31

Expenditures in the same Departments.

In 1826,	$488,164 17	
1827,	509,801 33	
1828,	559,136 41	
		1,554,101 91

Excess of the present over the former administration, $83,293 40

Compare the expenditures of the three first years of the present with the three last years of the late administration, under the head of foreign intercourse.

Expenditures in 1829,		$179,597 07
1830,		294,067 27
1831,		298,699 95
		772,364 29
Expenditures in 1826,	$232,719 88	
1827,	257,923 42	
1828,	198,473 24	
		689,115 74

Excess of the present over the last administration $83,248 55

The amount asked for by the Executive and appropriated the present year, for foreign Intercourse is 297,900 dollars.

constructive journies nor infits to ministers to pay for? If we have not paid for constructive journies, we have paid for the constructive residence of a minister in one country, while he was residing in another. Mr. John Randolph was appointed Minister to Russia, where he remained only ten days, and then went to England, where he actually resided about one year, although by construction he was the resident Minister in Russia during the whole period. For this constructive service, Master John received 9000 dollars outfit, 9000 dollars salary, and 4500 infit; making 22,500 dollars for one year. This is pretty strong construction, I take it.

In the early part of 1828, a committee was appointed, called the Committee of Retrenchment, whose duty it was, to inquire what reductions could be made in the numbers and salaries of the officers and clerks, in the State, War, Treasury, Navy, and Post Office Departments, and to examine the several contingent funds of each.

Read with attention the following extracts from their report.

They began their report by saying, that they had addressed "a letter to each of the Heads of 'the Executive Departments, calling for informa-'tion as to the reductions that might be made, 'without injury to the public service, in the num-'ber and salaries of the clerks and officers in their 'respective departments, and the contingent ex-'penses of the same;" from all of whom they received answers stating, "that neither the num-'ber nor salaries of the clerks and officers in 'their respective offices, can be diminished with 'safety to the public interest."

The committee, not satisfied with these answers, proceeded to say, it was impossible for the committee to ascertain by their own examination, the facts necessary to enable them to propose any specific reduction of the number of clerks in the several offices; and that without the cordial aid of the Executive, no effective scheme of retrenchment could be instituted; but that they had obtained information enough to satisfy them that "by a judicious system of reform, instituted by 'the Executive officers themselves, at least one-'third of the present number of clerks in the de-'partments might be reduced with safety to the 'public interest. .We believe, (says the commit-'tee,) that there are in fact a corps of invalid pen-'sioners attached to some of these offices, and 'just in proportion to their increasing disability 'to discharge their duties, is an increased neces-'sity for the appointment of new clerks. We al-'so think that by a new distribution of office 'hours, there would be an addition of at least one 'third of the amount of labor actually perform-'ed, which in itself, would involve a reduction of 'one-third of the number of clerks employed." You will observe that if the views of the committee had been carried into effect by the promised reform, it would have reduced one-half the number of clerks in the Executive Departments. The committee go on to recommend sundry improvements, and amongst them them the abolition of the Second Comptroller's office,and that of one of the Auditors. All this reform was to be accomplished under General Jackson. Has it been done? No, not one particle of it! One week before Gen. Jackson came into office, Mr. Hamilton, Chairman of the Committee of Retrenchment, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this House has a right to expect that the Executive will submit to Congress at its next session, a comprehensive scheme of retrenchment, which shall extend to the lopping off of all *useless offices*, and of securing a more effective accountability in those which are retained."

Has this been done? I answer not yet—the first step has not been taken. Compare this resolution with the extract from the inaugural address, and then compare both with what follows, and I am sure you will agree with me, that *all this flourish was only to gull and deceive.*

At the first session of Congress, after Gen. Jackson came into power, Mr. Wickliffe, who was at the head of the Committee of Retrenchment, called upon the Heads of the different departments, to know how many and what offices might be dispensed with, and what expenses could be curtailed. Some of them I think did not deign to give him an answer. Mr. Van Buren, however, did, in his letter dated March the 4th 1830. He says,

"As to the first branch of enquiry, my opinion is, that there can be no reduction in the number of officers at this time employed in the department, without detriment to the public interest."

It was not enough that Mr. Van Buren refused to diminish the number of clerks in the department of State; but he went farther, in his letter to the chairman of the committee on foreign relations, dated January the 29th, 1830. He says, 'I beg leave also to enclose for the consideration of the committee the project of a law authorizing the appointment of an assistant Secretary of State."

The Hon. W. T. Barry, Post Master General, in a letter dated January 13th, 1830, addressed to R. M. Johnson, of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, requests the appointment of an additional assistant Post Master General, and ten new clerks. In the Treasury Department no reduction was made either in the number or salary of the officers; but, on the contrary, on the 29th May, 1830, a bill passed the House of Representatives, (and became a law,) creating the office of Solicitor of the Treasury, with a salary of 3,500 dollars a year. The foregoing was all that we heard about the *comprehensive scheme of retrenchment.* What a comment upon the doctrine of retrenchment and reform!

In 1824, and 1828, I believed Gen. Jackson to be a real friend to the internal improvement of the Western country, and by that means and that

only we could hope to obtain a reasonable share in the public expenditure. But in this I have been disappointed. The President does not appear to have any governing principle upon this subject, but is guided by the whim or caprice of the moment, as will appear by the following cases.—While a Senator, he voted money to aid a joint-stock company to construct the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, sixteen miles in length. This undertaking was liable to every objection brought against the Maysville road which he vetoed. I believe he voted in favor of the Louisville Canal, and withheld, at the close of the session of 1830, a bill to complete that work—a work of the deepest interest to the whole West. It is vain to say he was under stronger obligations to consult the general good in the one station than in the other. In these cases his obligations were of equal extent. At the last session, a bill for the improvement of rivers, bays, and roads, was passed and approved. In this bill there was an item for the improvement of the Cumberland river. On his being charged with inconsistency for approving this bill, the Globe assured the public, that the President would cause the expenditure to be made below the city of Nashville; that, as that city was a port of entry, it would be constitutional to improve the river up to that point. Of course we are left to infer that it would be unconstitutional to improve the river above to enable the inhabitants to come down to the port of entry. Another bill of precisely a similar character was withheld at the close of the session.

The Jackson Convention which met at Columbus, Jan. 8th, 1828, declared it to be a base slander to charge Gen. Jackson with being unfriendly to internal improvements.

A meeting of the friends of Gen. Jackson, at Zanesville, Nov. 28th, 1827, adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That we view with astonishment and regret, the repeated assertions and acts of designing politicians to delude the people into a belief, that Gen. Jackson is opposed to the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures and internal improvement.

"*Resolved*, That, as Western citizens friendly to the American System, to domestic manufactures, and internal improvement, we recommend all true friends to manufactures and internal improvement to support the election of General Andrew Jackson," &c.

I have uniformly sustained those great leading principles on which Gen. Jackson was supported in Ohio previous to 1828, as my votes will shew. If the General and many of his friends have abandoned them, pray reader, *who is the turncoat, I, or they?*

It was not enough that the friends of General Jackson had to bear his own infirmities, but they must swallow Mr. Van Buren, who, by his instructions to Mr. M'Lane, caused his country to be humbled before a foreign monarch, by directing him, Mr. M'Lane, to bring to the notice of that monarch our party feuds and family quarrels, in order to gain some petty advantages to his own party. But this is not all: Gen. Jackson, as if to shew his perfect contempt of the former opinions of his whole party, is now laboring to give to the country a successor in the person of Mr. Van Buren.* He certainly cannot have forgotten how strongly the whole party opposed the succession of executive pets, a few years ago. The duty of the President is faithfully to execute the laws. To the people it belongs to point out the President's successor.

During the Presidential contest in 1824, what relation did Mr. Van Buren and his Bucktails sustain towards Gen. Jackson? I answer, that of his most bitter revilers. But just before the contest of 1828, he saw that it would be to his interest to turn a somerset. Accordingly, he was found in the Jackson ranks as soon as the contest was over; and he and his friends bore off nearly all the spoils of victory, while the true friends who had borne the heat and burden of the day were entirely neglected.

Gen. Jackson was charged with having justified the violent and brutal attacks made upon members of Congress at the last session; and when a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives to authorize an inquiry into the truth of the report, and proof was tendered, his friends, forming the majority, rejected the resolution, and refused the inquiry. Freedom of debate is a constitutional privilege promised to every member. The shield is thrown around him, not for his own benefit, but for the public good, that he may fearlessly inquire into the conduct of executive officers, and, if needful, expose corruption, find it where he may.

To show the utter contempt in which General Jackson holds the Senate of the United States, it is only necessary to refer to one or two of his nominations. Mr. Gardiner was nominated as Register of the Land Office at Tiffin, in this State, in 1829, and his nomination unanimously rejected. At the next session, not one of the General's friends was found to support him; yet the President gave him, in the Indian Department, a much better office, that did not require the concurrence of the Senate. I might name the case of Wharton Rector, and others; but let one more suffice. Mr. Gwin (a clerk in the General Post Office) was appointed, in 1831, to fill a vacancy which occurred in a land office in the State of Mississippi. During the last session of Congress, the Senate refused to confirm his appointment, on

* The N. Y. Evening Post of Sept. 1, says, "This is almost the first time that the choice of a Vice President has presented a question of importance. We are now called upon to compensate a man, every way deserving, for an unmerited mortification, and to secure a successor to Gen. Jackson, in case that death or sickness unhappily incapacitates him for the duties of his station, who may carry on the plans he has begun." [The man who would make the discovery of what those plans are, would be a public benefactor, and would deserve well of his country.]

the ground that they would not send men from one State to fill offices in another, in ordinary cases. The President re-nominated Mr. Gwin, and the Senate laid it upon the table; and the President was advised, through some of his confidential friends, that it would not again be taken up. Since the adjournment of Congress, the President has re-appointed Mr. Gwin to the same office. Look, reader, at the Constitution, and ask yourself if this vacancy has occurred during the present recess of Congress.

During the first two years of Gen. Jackson's administration, he did not hold Cabinet councils, according to the practice of all his predecessors.

During the last session of Congress, the official paper at Washington labored most ardently to prostrate the Supreme Court and both Houses of Congress, in order to build up Executive influence.

Gen. Jackson sent Commissioners to form a commercial treaty with the Sublime Porte, without the advice and consent of the Senate. This is a case somewhat like Mr. Adams's Panama mission, as he only said ministers would be appointed. The treaty has been made; and the annual amount necessary for the support of a mission at that Court is as follows: Salary of the Chargé d'Affairs, 4,500 dollars; Dragoman, 2,500 dollars; contingent expenses, 35,000: total, 42,000. The item of 35,000 is intended principally for presents, or, in more homely but true language, for bribes, in order to retain the friendship of these proud Mahometans. Commodore Porter, who is Chargé d'Affaires at that Court, after a residence of some months, writes to a friend that not one American vessel had reached there during that period. This is paying pretty dear for the whistle.

In a little more than three years, Gen. Jackson has vetoed (or forbidden them passage) three, and withheld at the close of the Session five important bills, which had passed both Houses of Congress by respectable majorities; being a greater number, I believe, than all his predecessors had vetoed during the previous 40 years; a power which, it is said, the King of Great Britain has not exercised for nearly one hundred years. I had always been taught to believe, that, in a republic, the majority ought to rule. Hence, I am not only opposed to the frequent exercise of the veto power, but view its grant as one of the greatest errors in our system of Government. The people are the fountain of all power; and, in my opinion, are the legitimate checks on improper legislation. They can soon see, and feel too, the effects of a bad law, and will accordingly apply the remedy which they hold in their own hands. The Governor of Ohio has no negative power; and I believe our laws are as pure and as wholesome as are the laws of the neighboring States, where that power is exercised.

It was not my intention in this address to say any thing respecting the Bank of the United States. There are powers assumed by the President in the veto message, which I humbly conceive do not legitimately belong to him. Two or three of these I intend to notice: He says, "Had the executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed." Reader, pause and consider the import of the above sentence, and ask yourself this question—By what law or constitutional provision is it made the duty of the Representatives of the People to ask advice from the Executive? and by what law or constitutional provision is it made the duty of the President of the United States to furnish Congress with the project of such laws as he would approve and sign? This language would be more becoming at the court of some European monarch, than in the Republic of the United States. I presume that the only law or custom which can be adduced, is one lately discovered by the editor of the Globe, and which is as follows: "that he, General Jackson, *was born to command*; of course, we were *born to obey*. If you admit the above, you admit the doctrine of the divine right; and overthrow the republican doctrine that all men were born equally free.

Gen. Jackson, in his first message to Congress, December 8th, 1829, makes use of the following language:

"The charter of the Bank of the United States expires in 1836, and its stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privileges, in order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests. I feel that I cannot, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the People."

Compare the above with the following extract from the veto message. When the bank had seven years of its charter unexpired, he thought he could not too soon present it, &c. but when its term was reduced to four years, it was not now necessary to renew it: but to the extract:

"As the charter had yet four years to run, and as a renewal was not now necessary to a successful prosecution of its business, it was to have been expected that the Bank itself, conscious of its purity, and proud of its character, would have withdrawn its application for the present."

Again he says—

"The Bank is professedly established as an agent of the executive branches of the Government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action, nor upon the provisions of this act, was the Executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say that it neither needs nor wants an agent clothed with such powers, and favored by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which make it necessary or proper. Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act it cannot be found either in the wishes or necessities of the Executive Department."

Mr. McLane, Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress at the beginning of last session, says—

"The indispensable necessity of such an institution, for the regulation and preservation of a sound currency, for the aid of commercial transactions generally, and even for the safety and utility of the local banks, is not doubted, and as is believed, has been shewn, in the past experience of the Government, and in the general accommodation and operation of the present bank.

"The present institution may indeed be considered as peculiarly the offspring of that necessity, springing from the inconveniences which followed the loss of the first Bank of the United States, and the evils and distresses incident to the excessive, and in some instances, fraudulent issues of the local banks during the war—the propriety of continuing it is to be considered, not more in reference to the expediency of banking generally, than in regard to the actual state of things, and to the multiplicity of State Banks already in existence, and which can neither be displaced nor in any other manner controlled, in their issues of paper by the General Government. This is an evil not to be submitted to; and the remedy at present applied, while it preserves a sound currency for the country at large, promotes the real interests of the local banks, by giving soundness to their paper."

It is not my province to reconcile these discordant opinions of the President and his Secretary. The former says that the Executive neither needs nor wants such an agent: the latter declares it to be indispensable to carry on the fiscal concerns of the Government; and permit me to say, that, in my opinion, Mr. M'Lane understood the subject much better than the President.

The President and many of his friends affect to be deeply concerned, on account of the great drain of money from this country to Europe, to pay the bank dividends, amounting at six per cent to $480,000. But not one word is said about the thirty millions of dollars we have had to pay in money, for the excessive importations of British gewgaws during the last year. Many of these gentlemen would, if they could, prostrate our own manufactures, and thereby make us hewers of wood and drawers of water to England, to the tune of an hundred millions a year. I call this straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

From the most careful review of the measures of the present administration, they are such as I cannot, as an honest man, approve. Many of the cases which I have noted, are of the most arbitrary kind; and to my mind, prove that the President and his flatterers wish to establish *a government of one man only.* If it be the wish of the people of the United States, that the executive, judicial, and legislative power should be vested in the hands of one man, they ought to dismiss their judges and representatives to save expense; and while the President exercises the power, let him also bear the whole responsibility.

Thus, fellow citizens, I have given you the reasons why I will not again support Gen. Jackson for the Presidency. In so doing I violate no pledge given, either directly or indirectly, as a citizen or as a representative. I only exercise the right guarantied to every citizen—the free exercise of the right of suffrage. I presume that there is not one of my constituents who feels bound to vote for me in all time to come, because he has done so in time past; nor am I bound to vote for Gen. Jackson in 1832, because I voted for him in 1824 and 1828. It is due to myself, however, to state, that let the President be who he may, I will yield my most cordial support to his measures, so far as they will promote the public good, and shall with equal zeal oppose whatever I believe would be injurious. I shall never yield to the Executive a servile obedience, nor shall I engage in a captious opposition. "Measures, and not Men," shall be my motto. I view the representative as the servant of the people, and the guardian of their rights, and not the servant of him who may fill the chair of state.

I admired most of the leading principles avowed by Gen. Jackson and his friends, previous to the election in 1828. They are yet my principles. I have neither changed nor abandoned them; and as a proof of my consistency, I appeal to every vote I have given in Congress for the five last years, whenever these principles were brought in question. Mr. Hamer has, in his address, told us correctly, what the Jackson principles were in 1828. I wish he had told us what they now are. I mean no reflection upon Mr. Hamer when I say, that it would take a wiser man than he to do this: for I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the General has vetoed, by his practice, every leading principle avowed by himself, or his friends, before the election of 1828.

I appeal to the sober and reflecting part of the community. Are you satisfied with the acts of the administration? (Numbers of you have told me in private, you were not.) Do you believe that the pledges given have been redeemed in a single instance? Have the promises made, been fulfilled? Have the number of offices been reduced, or useless offices abolished? In what instance has there been a reduction of expenses in the department immediately under the control of Gen. Jackson? If there has been in a single instance, put your finger upon it. If none of these things have been done, (and I affirm that they have not,) no longer suffer personal attachment to warp your judgments. Shew to the world that you love your country more than General Jackson. Remember that the welfare of that country, and the very existence of her most venerated and valuable institutions, are in your hands; and posterity will hold you accountable for the course you may take. Gen. Jackson says, in his veto message, "Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it." Examine this doctrine. Try to carry it into practice; and see where it will lead you. I do not hesitate to say, *it will land you in the broad field of anarchy and confusion.*

Had I consulted my own advancement, I would have remained silent about these things. I would

have done like some others, played the wiley politician, and remained on the strong side. But for so doing, I should have despised myself; and I am sure a free people would have despised me for it. And as I firmly believe that a continuance of the present capricious and arbitrary administration will bring ruin upon our beloved country, no hope of future advancement, no prospect of personal aggrandizement, or any other selfish consideration whatever, could induce me to return to you with a lie in my mouth, crying "All's well!" when I believe that our country is *upon the verge of a precipice.*

Should you enquire whom I intend to support for the Presideney, I can only say, that I do not know. The gentleman that would be my choice, is not at this time before the public. Being, however, perfectly satisfied that no change can take place but what will be for the public good, I shall therefore be governed by circumstances, and shall vote for the man that will be most likely to effect my object—namely, the promotion of the peace, happiness, and prosperity of our country.

Very respectfully,
I am, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM RUSSELL.

West-Union, Sept. 21st, 1832.

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